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FINAL REPORT OF THE STUDY GROUP ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE BICENTENARY

INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CEREMONIAL EVENTS, EXHIBITIONS, CONFERENCES, AND PUBLICATIONS

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Background

On March 5, 1980, Senator Robert C. Byrd introduced for himself and for Senators Howard Baker, Ted Stevens, and Harry Byrd, Jr., Senate Resolution 381 which provided for the establishment of a Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary. The sponsors expressed their desire to observe the Senate's 200th anniversary in 1989 in an appropriate manner. Senator Byrd suggested publications, ceremonial observances, conferences, and exhibits. Senator Stevens added that he believed current members of the Senate have the responsibility "to make certain that the institution of the Senate, as such, is recognized, and that this anniversary date is appropriately brought to the attention of the public." By creating the Study Group well in advance of the bicentennial, the Senate could also capitalize on the economics of careful advance planning, draw as much as possible on existing resources, and keep expenses to a reasonable minimum.

The Senate agreed to S. Res. 381 on August 1, 1980 and amended it on January 28, 1982 (S. Res. 285) to extend the Study Group's reporting date to December 31, 1982. The Study Group held three meetings in Washington, on March 24, September 14, and December 2, 1982. Members of the offices of the Senate Historian and Senate Curator, under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Senate, served as staff to the Study Group, further minimizing operating expenses. Staff consulted with representatives of the Library of Congress and National Archives, with professional historians, museum curators, and film-makers, and with those involved in planning for the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution and formation of the federal government. In this latter connection, the Senate passed S. 2671 on October 1, 1982 providing for a sixteen-member presidential commission "to promote and coordinate activities to commemorate the bicentennial of the Constitution."

Recommendations

The Study Group recommends a coordinated program of publications, ceremonial events, conferences, and a film to inform the nation on the role of the Senate in the workings of the federal government, from its historical beginnings through two hundred years of growth, challenge, and change. Throughout its deliberations, the Study Group considered the most appropriate means for the Senate to inspire and support such commemorative activity. It is the strongly held view of the Study Group that the Senate promote only those meritorious projects that could not be undertaken more effectively by individuals and organizations independent of the Senate. By beginning planning now, the Senate can also minimize the costs of these important undertakings while maximizing their results.

These recommendations are of several types. First are the recommended projects requiring specific additional funding. They include a biographical directory of the Senate's members from 1789 to 1989, a guide to the Senate's records at the National Archives, microform publication of selected heavily-used 18th and 19th century Senate records, two bicentennial conferences, exhibits for display in the Capitol and throughout the nation. Second are recommended projects that can be undertaken within the Senate through existing resources. These include a Senate historical almanac, a guide to locations of all former senators' manuscript collections, and a single volume collection of memoirs of Senate officials since 1789. Other projects, such as a documentary film on the Senate's history and functions, the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp and medals, and exhibits at the National Archives and Library of Congress, can be conducted independently of the Senate.

PROJECTS REQUIRING SPECIAL FUNDING

1) Biographical Directory of the United States Senate, 1789-1989

The Study Group proposes a single, up-to-date comprehensive biographical guide to the more than 1,750 individuals who have served in the Senate since 1789. This guide would replace and expend upon the now out-of-print Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971. Although that directory appeared in eleven editions since 1859, its format had become unwieldy and prohibitively expensive, and there are no plans to update or reprint it. That publication also suffers major shortcomings: it provides information on members only prior to and after their service in Congress, with no reference to their committee chairmanships or legislative accomplishments; it also lacks citations to biographies and other books by and about members. The proposed biographical guide would incorporate this additional information as well as newly written profiles of members who have arrived since 1971.

The Study Group proposes a 600-page directory containing 200-500 word sketches and bibliographical citations for all senators serving in the first one hundred Congresses. The Study Group considered and rejected a proposal to commission scholars to write new accounts of all former senators similar to those for approximately 500 members appearing in the Dictionary of American Biography. This would entail great expense and would tend to duplicate articles in the Dictionary, even though many of them, prepared in the 1930s, are dated.

Should the House of Representatives decide to undertake a similar revision for its ten thousand former members, these projects could be easily coordinated.

This project could readily take advantage of the Senate's existing computer facilities. The Senate Historical Office maintains a computer data file with information on books and articles on most former senators. Enrichment of this data file with biographical information should prove to be a simple and cost-effective operation.

2) Guide to Senate Records at the National Archives

The Study Group proposes the preparation and publication of a guide to the approximately twenty thousand linear feet of non-current permanent records of the United States Senate at the National Archives. Dating from 1789, these materials are fundamental sources for the study and understanding of the Senate's history and role in the legislative process and of the general history of the American people. They are a basic component in the Senate's institutional memory.

Currently there is no useful guide to this important collection. As an outgrowth of the Study Group's belief that these records constitute a vital portion of the nation's documentary heritage, action was initiated after the Group's March 1982 meeting to institute a preservation program for deteriorating 18th and 19th century records. The National Archives submitted a comprehensive plan under which it would contribute 25 percent of the rehabilitation costs. The Senate approved this plan, and funding was made available through the Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1982. A guide to the full collection would greatly promote its use.

The National Archives can utilize its present computer system to facilitate the necessary revision and updating of its preliminary inventory to Senate records, published nearly four decades ago. That agency estimates this project could be accomplished over a five-year period at a cost of $90,000 per year.

3) Exhibitions and Ceremonial Events

o EXHIBITIONS

The Study Group recommends a series of exhibits to be installed in the Capitol or Senate office buildings. The first would highlight notable events in the first century of the Senate's history through display of a wide selection of original documents. A second exhibit would focus on works of American graphic

artists depicting the Senate's formative years to the present. Drawings, engravings, architectural renderings, and photographs could all play a prominent role in illustrating the Senate's legislative, cultural, social, architectural, and artistic heritage. Since 1975, the Senate Commission on Art and Antiquities has acquired over two hundred engravings of the Senate that originally appeared in mid-to-late 19th century periodicals. This collection as well as the extensive photographic resources of the Senate Historical Office, will be invaluable to the development of this exhibition.

With the selection in the late 1950s of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., and Robert A. Taft as outstanding former senators and the subsequent commissioning of their portraits for the Senators' Reception Room, a special gallery was created near the Senate chamber. Because it is one of the most popular rooms in the Capitol, it is proposed that a series of exhibits, which chronicle the periods in which these members served, be installed adjacent to the portraits in the Reception Room. The exhibit cases, although somewhat limited in size, would feature memorabilia related to the subjects as well as noteworthy documents and graphics.

Traveling Exhibitions: The Study Group recommends further consideration be given to circulating throughout the country exhibits based on special displays that are scheduled for installation in the Capitol building during the bicentennial period. Exhibits telling the story of the Senate through the works of American graphic artists and political cartoonists would lend themselves to this format.

o CEREMONIAL EVENTS

The Study Group recommends that March 4, 1989 be observed in a joint session in the House of Representatives chamber. April 6, 1989 marks the two hundredth anniversary of the day the Senate achieved its first quorum and got down

to business. The Senate could convene either in the Old Senate Chamber, or in its present chamber, on that date for a brief ceremonial program. Additional ceremonies associated with the signing and ratification of the Constitution might be planned for Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

4) Microfilm Publication of Key Senate Records

The National Archives recommends four specific projects for microfilming Senate records. The first would involve completing a longstanding plan to film the records of the precedent-setting first fourteen Congresses (1789-1817). The remaining projects (see appendix) were suggested because they involve records of greater historical interest that complement existing filmed collections of Executive and Judicial Branch records. The Study Group recommends that the filming of the first fourteen Congress' records be given a higher priority than the other three projects, but believes that all are worthy of Senate funding.

The records of the first fourteen Congresses have great precedential value and have been used extensively in research on constitutional, legislative, and administrative topics. Most of the earliest documents of the Executive and Judicial branches have already been microfilmed. In contrast, Senate records for the period have been filmed only in part. Filming Senate records for the first fourteen Congresses would prevent further wear and tear on materials vitally important for an understanding of our nation's history, besides making them more widely accessible to the American public.

PROJECTS REQUIRING NO SEPARATE FUNDING

5) Senate Historical Almanac

During its two hundred year existence, the Senate has been at the heart of the nation's political and constitutional development. Its 1,800 members have confronted a full range of public issues, from the profound to the ephemeral, with varying degrees of imagination and success.

The Study Group proposes a historical almanac that will capture in a chronological narrative the major issues, events, and personalities that have illuminated the Senate's past. Consisting of two sections, the almanac would include brief descriptions of major legislative confrontations, as well as of the development of institutional customs and precedents. The second section would provide lists, charts, and tables compiled within the Senate Historical Office in response to frequently asked questions related to characteristics of members' service and legislative performance.

The almanac, scrupulously non-partisan in substance and tone, would be published in an inexpensive paperbound edition of approximately 120 pages for widespread public distribution through members' offices.

In this connection, the Study Group wishes to take notice of a recent publication of the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service, Major Acts of Congress and Treaties Approved by the Senate, 1789-1980 (September 1982, 255 pages, Report No. 82-156 GOV).

6) A Guide to the Research Collections of Former United States Senators: 1789-1982

The Study Group is pleased to observe that the first volume in the projected series of bicentennial publications will soon be available. Work on the guide to the research collections of former senators has been underway for the past five years. The Senate Historical Office has surveyed 350 institutions believed to hold senatorial manuscripts and memorabilia, and has located information on more than 1,400 of the 1,659 former members. The result of this extensive search will be contained in a volume of approximately 500 pages to be published at the end of 1982. Included will be detailed information on locations of all known senatorial papers, oral histories, portraits, photographs, and memorabilia.

Arranged alphabetically by senator, the guide will provide a useful starting point for anyone contemplating research on the Senate and its many members. Several appendices will list senators by state with party affiliations, birth and death dates, and dates of Senate and House service. Another appendix lists individual repositories by state and city along with the senators whose collections they hold.

7) Staff Memoirs: The Senate From Inside

The Study Group recommends a single-volume publication that would bring together selected reminiscences, including letters, diaries, memoirs, and oral histories, of long-time Senate staff members. These long-serving staff, some of whose Senate careers spanned more than sixty years, bring a unique perspective to the institution through their close-range observations. The letters and diaries of three men alone encompass almost a century and a half of the Senate's history: Lewis Machen, 1809-1860; Isaac Bassett, 1831-1895; and Carl Loeffler, 1889-1949. For recent years, the Senate Historical Office has conducted an oral history program with former staff members, including Floyd Riddick, Parliamentarian Emeritus; Darrell St. Claire, former Assistant Secretary of the Senate; and several other senior staff whose Senate service predated World War II.

The single-volume edited publication would include annotations and appropriate illustrations to enhance its usefulness and interest to scholars and the general public. Consisting exclusively of primary materials gleaned from public and private manuscript and oral history sources, the book would be approximately 400 pages in length.

8) Senator Robert C. Byrd's History of the United States Senate

The Study Group recommends the publication of the collected addresses on the history and traditions of the United States Senate, which Senator Robert C. Byrd began in March 1980. Carefully researched and cast from the party leader's unique perspective, these addresses are, in the Study Group's estimation, worthy of separate publication and wide distribution.

PROJECTS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER STUDY (The Study Group strongly supports the objectives of proposals in this category, but lacks unanimity on the manner in which they would be accomplished)

9) Minutes of Democratic and Republican Party Caucuses

Since the beginning of this century both major Senate parties have held formal caucuses and have kept minutes of those sessions. Over the past twenty years these minutes have become more detailed, often including verbatim transcriptions. Although not official Senate records, the minutes are important documentary resources for an understanding of Senate operations and of great interest to researchers. The Republican party has generally granted access on a case by case basis, particularly for records more than two decades old.

The Study Group considered a proposal to publish, in edited form, party minutes more than twenty years old. It was argued that this would make them available to a wider audience than just those who could afford to travel to Washington and that participating senators would have the opportunity for review before publication.

After careful consideration, the Study Group found itself divided on this proposal, with some contending that the minutes were never intended to be made public, regardless of age. The Study Group believes this is a matter appropriate for determination by the Senate leadership. Although the Group makes no specific recommendation, it does not wish thereby to relegate this proposal to a secondary status.

10) Conferences and Symposia

The Study Group recommends that the Senate sponsor a minimum of two conferences between 1984 and 1989 related to development of the Senate's constitutional responsibilities and legislative role. The initial conference might be directed to an examination of alternative methods and approaches leading to publication of a scholarly history of the Senate. The second conference should be involved with substantive themes and issues of the Senate's past, present, and future. It might be appropriate to invite the oldest living former member of the Senate to preside at the 1989 conference. Specific topics should be formulated in cooperation with the Library of Congress, the Senate Historical Office, and "Project '87" of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association (see Appendix B), as well as other interested scholarly bodies.

11) A History of the United States Senate

In 1938 Professor George H. Haynes concluded a thirty-year research effort with the publication of his two volume The Senate of the United States. Haynes' work focuses on the development of Senate procedure and precedents. After nearly a half-century it is very much out of date.

A new history is clearly in order and the Senate bicentennial provides an appropriate occasion for such an undertaking. Such a project obviously requires careful additional study. A positive step in that direction would involve convening a small conference of congressional scholars to discuss questions such as methods of research and writing, funding, single or multiple authorship, biographical as distinguished from institutional developments, and treatment of related topics such as the role of political parties. It might be useful subsequently to hold two or more conferences, wherein preliminary chapters could be presented, as a means of preparing such a history.

INDEPENDENT PROJECTS

12) Committee Histories

The Study Group recommends that individual standing committees consider expanding their existing histories, or commissioning new ones by drawing on the resources of the Library of Congress or retaining the services of independent professional historians. The Senate Historical Office could assist with preparation of outlines and related preliminary activities to ensure that projects are carefully delineated and kept within reasonable bounds of cost and completion schedule.

Research into the activities of individual Senate committees has been sporadic and generally unsatisfactory. Special investigative committees serve as the focus of the best existing historical studies. Most notable among them are the Truman War Investigating Committee, the Kefauver Crime Committee, and the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. There is no competent general history of any Senate standing committee. Several committees have published "histories" that are confined largely to lists of former members with brief accounts of legislative activities.

The Study Group considered a proposal for special Senate funding to commission or otherwise encourage the production of distinguished studies. After due consideration, the study group decided against such a plan. High quality studies require major research effort over extended periods of time. Ideally, these activities are conducted by graduate students writing doctoral dissertations or mature scholars whose interest in related fields is already well developed. The Study Group believes the process of identifying and "rewarding" such individuals would be complex and beyond the Senate's proper role. There is no reason for confidence that studies begun in the optimism inspired by special subsidy would be completed on time, or at all. The expense involved, in these austere times, simply eliminates this proposal as a realistic option. The Study

Group believes the Senate could effectively encourage private sector research through the medium of bicentennial conferences that offer the prospect of modest honoraria and publication.

13) Film: "The United States Senate Over Two Centuries"

The Study Group recommends support of a privately funded and historically based film focusing on the Senate's institutional development over the past two hundred years. The film should be designed for viewing on public television and for use in schools and colleges, public discussion groups, and within the Senate itself.

The American Political Science Association is preparing a "telecourse" entitled "Congress: We The People" (see Appendix B). Funding for the telecourse is provided by a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Annenberg School of Communication. The telecourse will draw upon the considerable library of footage gathered by Washington public television station WETA for its public affairs program "The Lawmakers," and from its regular coverage of Congress over the last decade. One theme of the telecourse will be to distinguish between the Senate and House, drawing upon the resources of the WETA public affairs production staff and a group of congressional scholars. Working within this format, it should be feasible to develop k program covering the Senate as a national institution and as an institution representing the states, picturing the Senate as both an integrated organization and a collection of its individual members. The Study Group believes the Senate should serve as a source of ideas and documentation, but not of direction, funding, or editorial control.

14) Commemorative Stamps and Medals

The Study Group has initiated action through the Postmaster General to have the Citizen's Stamp Advisory Committee consider a Senate commemorative stamp when it begins planning for the 1989 stamp program. The Study Group encourages further consideration of an appropriate process for design and issuance of national commemorative medals in conjunction with the House of Representatives.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1) The Study Group recommends that its final report be distributed for comment to all current and former members and officers of the Senate. It further recommends that the report and a digest of members' comments be published as a Senate report or document and inserted in the Congressional Record to ensure widest possible dissemination.

2) The Secretary of the Senate, in his capacity as executive secretary of the Senate Commission on Art and Antiquities and as supervisor of the Senate Historical Office should be responsible for pursuing the Study Group's individual recommendations through appropriate Senate channels. In this respect, he should consult with the Senate Commission on Art and Antiquities, the Senate leadership, and the Senate Historical Office Advisory Committee.

3) The Senate may wish to establish a special bicentennial commission that would begin in the year 1987, at the start of the 100th Congress, to coordinate specific activities of the bicentennial period 1987-1989.

Respectfully submitted,

Hugh Scott, Chairman
Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Robert C. Byrd
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
Claiborne Pell
John Warner
Wendell Ford
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Wendell Anderson
William F. Hildenbrand
Daniel Boorstin
Robert M. Warner
Forrest C. Pogue
Harold M. Hyman
William E. Leuchtenburg

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Projects Requiring Special Funding

Recommendation #1:

BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, 1789-1989

Proposal

There is no single, up-to-date comprehensive biographical guide to the more than 1,750 individuals who have served in the Senate since 1789. Several publications currently serve this function, although their shortcomings are significant. The Study Group proposes a 600-page directory containing 200-500 word sketches for all senators serving in the first 100 Congresses. Each entry would include, at a minimum, the following information:

Name, party, and state represented
Birth date and place
Parents'occupation
Education and military experience
Previous occupations and political experience
Name of spouse and number of children
Congressional service dates
Party leadership positions
Major legislation, notable accomplishments and controversies
Committee chairmanships
Subsequent career
Place and date of death and burial
Books and articles by or about

Much of the work for the proposed publication has already been accomplished. The out-of-print Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971 contains sketches for approximately 1,500 senators. Its entries, corrected and revised, would be placed in the Senate Historical Office's computer data base, which already includes information on the location of former senators' manuscript collections and books by and about former members. Categories not included in the

Biographical Directory, such as committee chairmanships, notable accomplishments, and family information, would be added. Recently the Joint Committee on Printing decided not to undertake its customary ten-year revision of the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971 in view of cost considerations. Apparently this was due in part to the large number of entries for House members, nearly 10,000. Should the House decide, as part of its Bicentennial commemoration, to publish its own biographical directory, such a volume easily could serve as a companion to that proposed for the Senate's.

Existing Congressional Biographical Reference Books

- The Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971

This 1,972-page volume contains 200-word profiles of approximately 10,800 senators and representatives. It has appeared in eleven editions since 1859. The most recent three were published in 1949, 1961, and 1971. As noted above, the 1981 edition will not be published due to projected expense. Staff of the Joint Committee on Printing have prepared new sketches and revisions for 2,000 members in the event the House and Senate decide to issue future directories.

This volume has a number of shortcomings. Its most serious is that it tells virtually nothing of members' careers while they were in Congress. Many of its entries bear marks of 19th century authorship, as in that for Senator Blanche K. Bruce who is described as being "of the Negro race." The entry for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy includes nothing of his controversial career and 1954 Senate censure.

- The Dictionary of American Biography

The first of the Dictionary's twenty-six volumes appeared in 1928 and the most recent in 1982. The set includes notable Americans who have been dead for at least fifteen years and contains profiles, ranging from 500 to 4,000 words, of

approximately one-third of all former senators. The Study Group considered a project that would commission scholars to write fresh accounts of all former senators based on this model. This effort would include the one thousand senators not in the Dictionary as well as updated profiles, for many of those in the Dictionary were written in the 1930's. After careful consideration, the Study Group rejected this approach as too costly, and essentially duplicative of the Dictionary. By expanding entries in the Biographical Directory of the American Congress and adding information on existing book-length biographies to the proposed volume's citations, the Study Group believes a useful, cost-effective, and appropriate publication would result.

Recommendation #2:

GUIDE TO SENATE RECORDS AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The Senate maintains approximately twenty thousand linear feet of its non-current records at the National Archives. Dating from 1789, the collection includes both floor and committee papers. These materials are basic sources for the study and understanding of the Senate's history and role in the legislative process, and of the general history of the American people. They contain evidence of each committee's organization and functions, furnish a complete legislative history of individual bills and laws, and serve as a rich source of reference material for topics within a committee's jurisdiction. Committee and related records are a vital component of the Senate's "institutional memory."

In 1937, the Senate transferred its records from various Capitol basement and attic storerooms to the then newly-opened National Archives for preservation and public use. Upon completion of a project to arrange the Senate's collection, the National Archives issued a 250-page "preliminary inventory" describing briefly the collection's major components through 1946. At that time the Archives expected to prepare a more detailed inventory, but has never done so. As a result, there is currently no reliable and comprehensive guide to Senate records. Since publication of the 1946 inventory, the pre-World War II collection has expanded and parts of it have been rearranged, rendering portions of the earlier inventory obsolete. No guide exists for materials deposited over the past four decades.

The Study Group believes that preparation of a comprehensive guide to Senate records at the National Archives, along with the soon-to-be published catalog of former senators' research collections, would be a fitting project with which to commemorate the Senate's 200th anniversary.

The National Archives has a computer system that will facilitate revising and expanding the existing guide. That agency estimates that the cost of such a revision and updating would be approximately $450,000.

Recommendation #3:

EXHIBITIONS AND CEREMONIAL EVENTS

In the past decade, the Commission on Art and Antiquities has sponsored fifteen exhibitions devoted to the rich heritage of the Senate. For the most part, these exhibits have been installed in the Crypt area of the Capitol Building. Their subjects have been as diverse and multi-faceted as the institution itself and have ranged from a display of original documents illustrating the Senate's relationship with the presidency under the advice and consent clause of the Constitution, to an exhibit featuring the numerous U.S. commemorative postal issues which have been based on paintings and sculpture in the Senate's collection.

The bicentennial of the Senate provides an opportunity to produce a series of commemorative exhibits which would be installed in the Capitol or Senate office buildings. The first exhibition would highlight notable events in the first century of the Senate's history through the display of a wide selection of original documents. These might include the following examples:

- George Washington's 1789 message to the U.S. Senate, nominating the first cabinet members.
- Farewell message to the Senate from Vice President Thomas Jefferson on his assumption of the presidency, February 28, 1801.
- Letter from President Madison to the president of the Senate, September 17, 1814, on the subject of accommodations for Congress after the burning of Washington.
- Annual message of President James Monroe, December 2, 1823, containing the Monroe Doctrine.
- Tabulation of the vote of the Senate to elect a vice president, February 8, 1837, the only time such an election has occurred. Richard Johnson of Kentucky defeated Francis Granger of New York, 33 to 16.
- Letter of Millard Fillmore to the Senate, July 10, 1850, addressed by way of Secretary of the Senate Asbury Dickins, giving formal notice that he would no longer "occupy the chair of the Senate" due to his accession to the presidency on the death of Zachary Taylor.

- Message from Abraham Lincoln, February 28, 1863, transmitting copies of addresses to him of meetings of workers in Manchester and London, England, expressing appreciation for preliminary emancipation of slaves.

- Papers relating to the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, including original transcripts of testimony taken by the House managers, May-June 1868, exhibits used in the trial, ballots taken in the Senate, and a letter from Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase with observations on the proper mode of conducting the trial in the Senate.

- Petition signed by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton as officers of the National Woman Suffrage Association, January 22, 1873, asking for legislation "to protect women citizens . . . in their right to vote."

- Tabulation of the 1876 electoral vote as counted in the Senate on March 1, 1877, showing Rutherford B. Hayes as the winner by one vote.

- Transcripts of hearings held by the Senate Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment on S. 133, Forty-seventh Congress, the bill which became the Pendleton Act (1883) and established the Civil Service Commission.

- Omnibus Statehood Bill (S. 185), Fiftieth Congress. The different copies of this bill reflect its changing versions before final passage on February 22, 1889, when it provided for the admission of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Earlier drafts would have admitted "Dakota" only, and organized a new territory to be known as "Lincoln" or would have admitted the state of South Dakota only.

In the second exhibit, we would turn from the legislative and political story, as reflected in the significant documents of the Senate's first century, to a different study of the institution, spanning the period of its formative years to the present. Here the works of America's graphic artists would dominate. Drawings, engravings, architectural renderings and photographs could all play a prominent role. While the legislative integrant would be included, so too would the exhibit feature the cultural, social, architectural and artistic lives of the Senate. Since 1975, the Commission on Art and Antiquities has acquired over 200 engravings of the Senate which originally appeared in mid-to-late 19th century periodicals. This collection, as well as the extensive photographic resources of the Senate Historical Office, will be invaluable to the development of this exhibition.

With the selection in the late 1950s of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., and Robert A. Taft as outstanding former senators and the subsequent commissioning of their portraits for the Senators' Reception Room, a special gallery was created near the Senate Chamber. Because it is one of the most popular rooms in the Capitol, it is proposed that a series of exhibits, which chronicle the periods in which these members served, be installed adjacent to the portraits in the Reception Room. The exhibit cases, although somewhat limited in size, would feature memorabilia related to the subjects as well as noteworthy documents and graphics.

TRAVELING EXHIBITIONS

Consideration should be given to circulating throughout the country exhibits based on special displays which are scheduled for installation in the Capitol building during the bicentennial period. These traveling exhibits would be mounted on a series of panels designed to withstand the rigors of shipment over a five year travel schedule. Selections of the state institution hosting the exhibit would be made by the senators from each state. Design and production of the exhibits would be scaled to accommodate buildings with limited display areas. State offices of individual senators might be considered fitting locations, as well as local historical societies or museums.

Of the exhibitions planned for the Capitol between 1987-92, two subjects would seem to be particularly appropriate for travel. The first exhibit would be devoted to the story of the Senate as seen through the works of American graphic artists. Engraved views of the Senate, architectural renderings, and photographic studies would be featured. Among the resources from which material would be drawn is the collection of 19th century Senate engravings acquired under the direction of the Commission on Art and Antiquities, and the extensive photographic files of the Senate Historical Office.

A second subject worthy of consideration would trace the history of the Senate from the perspective of the political cartoonist. The marriage of the editorial cartoonist's artistic style and humor has made cartoons a popular--and sometimes painful--portrayal of the United States Senate. Not only would this exhibit serve as a history of the Senate and the principal issues it has faced, but it would also trace the development of technology that made the production of cartoons possible. Paralleling these changes is the shift in style and approach that occurred through several generations of American political cartoonists. While the Senate has a limited number of political cartoons in its collec-

tion, it is recommended that efforts be made over the next four years to increase its holdings in order to enhance the quality of this traveling exhibit.

As described, both traveling exhibit topics lend themselves to additional forms of interpretation. For example, a folio of reproductions of several 19th century engraved views of the Senate featured in the display, could be sold through the Government Printing Office during the exhibits' traveling schedule. Also of interest might be a publication on Senate political cartoons, discussing their significance in greater detail than the space on the exhibit panels could provide. The "Story of the Senate" exhibit, employing prints, photographs, and drawings, would also be an ideal subject for a poster. Revenue realized from the sale of these publications could be used to defray expenses associated with producing exhibits.

Recent interviews were held with staff members of the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES) in order to develop funding projections for this program. A moderate-size exhibit, consisting of between 15-20 panels, could involve expenditures totaling about $20,000. This would include design and production costs, covering silkscreening, photographs, mounting, typesetting, etc. It is intended that, wherever possible, Senate staff would be involved in the development and fabrication of these exhibits.

CEREMONIAL EVENTS

The two most significant dates during the bicentennial period which should be considered for ceremonial observances are March 4, 1989 and April 6, 1989.

March 4, 1789 was the day appointed for the beginning of the government under the new Constitution. Although eleven state conventions had ratified the Constitution and would thus be represented in the Senate, only eight out of twenty-two senators took their seats on the first day. Of the fifty-nine representatives, only thirteen had arrived in New York's Federal Hall by that time. Nonetheless, March 4, 1789 is considered the first day of the first session of the first Congress. It would seem fitting that this date be commemorated jointly in ceremonies with the House of Representatives here in the Capitol.

It was not until April 6, 1789 that the Senate, after long delay, achieved a quorum and could be formally organized. (The House had reached a quorum on April 1, 1789.) The Senate might wish to convene in the Old Senate Chamber, or in its present chamber, on April 6, 1989, to celebrate this signal anniversary.

Recommendation #4:

MICROFILM PUBLICATION OF KEY SENATE RECORDS

The National Archives recommends four specific projects for microfilming Senate records. The first would involve completing a longstanding plan to film the records of the precedent-setting first fourteen Congresses (1789-1817). The remaining projects were suggested because they involve records of great historical interest that complement existing filmed collections of Executive and Judicial Branch records. The Study Group recommends that the filming of the first fourteen Congresses' records be given a higher priority than the other three projects, but believes that all are worthy of Senate funding.

• Records of the First Fourteen Congresses

The records of the first three decades of the federal government have great precedential value and have been used extensively in research on constitutional, legislative, and administrative topics. Filming these records will facilitate their use in libraries across the nation and minimize wear and tear on the originals. Only a small portion of Senate records for the period have as yet been filmed. Estimated cost to complete this project would be $39,000.

• Indian Relations--Executive Proceedings, 1st to 41st Congresses (1789-1871)

From 1789 to 1871, the Senate dealt with negotiated Indian treaties under the "advice and consent" provisions of the Constitution. The records generated by this process consist of Executive Branch correspondence and memoranda relating to negotiation of the treaties, as well as unique materials that reflect the Senate's deliberations. These files constitute an historically valuable record of the Senate's exercise of its responsibilities on Indian relations. Estimated cost to complete this project would be $13,000.

• Foreign Relations--Executive Proceedings, 1st to 79th Congresses (1789-1947)

This is an important and heavily-used collection, which complements a more extensive set of State Department records. Filming would eliminate wear and

chances of theft of irreplaceable documents. Estimated cost to complete this project would be $33,000.

• Senate Impeachment Proceedings

The Senate has sat as a court of impeachment on twelve occasions since 1798. The records created by the Senate in the exercise of this unique constitutional function occupy thirty trays and could be arranged, filmed, and described at a relatively modest cost as indicated below. Estimated cost to complete this project would be $10,000.

APPENDIX B: Recommendations of "Project '87" of
the American Political Science Association and
the American Historical Association

I. Introduction

Project '87, a joint endeavor of the APSA and the AHA, was inaugurated in 1978 to support scholarship, enhance teaching, and promote public examination of the Constitution on the occasion of its 200th anniversary. Project '87 enthusiastically welcomes the plan of the Senate to engage in scholarly projects and public programs as an observance of its bicentennial and the 200th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. It is Project '87's hope to be able to assist the Senate in its plans, and to collaborate in the development of commemorative programs.

II. Scholarship

The Joint Committee which governs Project '87 conceived of its work in three stages, the first of which focuses on research. In the past years, as part of Stage I, Project '87 has awarded fifty-one research grants and fellowships and organized five conferences on constitutional topics. For each of the last four conferences, Project '87 oversaw the publication of a volume of collected pieces. In addition, several articles and books have appeared, authored by the scholars who received financial awards from Project '87's fellowship competitions.

In calling to public attention the singular character of our national institutions, the bicentennial offers an opportunity for the Senate to highlight its special role in the structure of the government, and the unique character of its resources for scholars. The biographical directory of the Senate, the creation of tools permitting greater access to Senate records in the National Archives, microfilming of heavily-used Senate records, guides to senators' papers, plans for conferences, all will assist scholars and encourage work which will explicate the history of the Senate for the academic community and ultimately for the public.

To the extent possible and desirable, Project '87 looks forward to cooperating with the Senate in fostering the use of such resources and in executing its pro-

grams. Possible vehicles for doing so include the following suggestions:

A) Through its own activities in holding conferences and producing written materials, and through the publications of its two founding organizations, the American Political Science Association and the American Historical Association, Project '87 has established a wide network of scholars who specialize in constitutional issues. Project '87 can use this network to distribute special announcements regarding the availability of the new scholarly resources the Senate plans to create.

B) In addition, Project '87 could work with the Senate to organize a series of conferences with the goal of developing a one- or two-volume history of the Senate. The conferences could be organized in the following manner:

1. The Senate Historical Office and Project '87 would issue a call for proposals on Senate history and politics.

2. A committee comprised of representatives of the Senate Historical Office, its Advisory Board, and members of Project '87's Joint Committee of scholars would choose from among the best applicants and invite them to a preliminary meeting.

3. The preliminary meeting would include the applicants chosen through the competition and members of the committee that selected them. This body would then review the proposed papers and decide upon themes and organization of the volume/s/.

4. The body would also decide upon additional papers to be solicited from scholars who did not participate in the competition, in order to produce a superior, comprehensive, collection of essays.

5. At a time to be determined, a full-scale conference would be held in Washington, which Project '87 would convene, drawing upon its experience in holding conferences on Constitutional subjects.

6. After revision, the scholars would return the papers for review by an editorial board composed of representatives of Project '87, the Senate Historical Office, and its Advisory Board.

7. The volume then would be published through the offices of the Senate and Project '87, in a manner acceptable to all parties.

C) A fellowship competition, co-sponsored by Project '87 and the Senate, is another activity that would encourage research on the Senate. In the past four years, Project '87 has held four rounds of fellowship competition, and is now investigating funding for competitions based on topics more focused than the former competitions. Scholarship focusing on the Senate would be one such area.

Project '87 is prepared to run the competition, using its Joint Committee of scholars to referee the applications. Such a competition could be structured to permit scholars already engaged in research on the Senate to bring their manuscripts to completion, and/or explore specific topics proposed by scholars in order to fill gaps in the research.

Funding For Scholarly Activities

Project '87 has supported all of its scholarly activities through specific program grants from the Lilly Endowment, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Mellon Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. If the Senate is interested in collaborating with Project '87 on any of the programs included in this proposal, funds would have to be acquired from either public or private sources. The Senate may wish to fund these programs directly through an allocation to a bicentennial commission or through the Senate Historical Office, or funds could be solicited from private sources. Project '87 would be willing to work with the Senate to come to a mutually agreeable arrangement.

III. Educational Activities

Stage II of Project '87's program focuses on the production of educational materials for use by teachers at all grade levels and by educators in other institutions such as libraries and museums. Our present projects include the development of a sourcebook on the Constitution for secondary school teachers, which is now nearing completion, and a series of regional conferences for high-school educators, conducted by the American Historical Association. Project '87 hopes that the Senate bicentennial program would also provide for the publication of materials which will be useful to this clientele.

Project '87 urges the Senate to solicit the views of secondary school teachers, librarians and museum officials to plan the format and scope of such materials, and the design of exhibits. Not only will prior consultation with such officials help the Senate prepare suitable publications for this audience, and then increase its impact, but would alert the Senate to specific items these educators feel are lacking, and could tailor-make exhibits or pamphlets with this audience in mind. Project '87, which has had extensive contacts with secondary school teachers, curriculum supervisors and school administrators, can direct the Senate to key educators, with experience in developing instructional materials in this field, who are in positions which enable them to reach their colleagues through their professional associations.

IV. Public Programs - Stage III of Project '87's Program

A) Film/Video Presentations

Communication in American society is conducted very much through visual images and film/video media. Consequently, film or video programs are very appealing. Project '87 itself has spent three years gathering information about current and planned films and television programs on constitutional issues. On the basis of this experience and in view of the considerable cost and complexity

of film production, we suggest that the Senate bicentennial planning committee give careful consideration to identifying the intended audience(s) for the film, including one or all of the following:

a. The Senate itself (as an orientation for freshmen senators and for staff).

b. The American public (as general information and entertainment).

c. Public/citizen discussion groups (as information for further reflection and study through, for example, the programs of the League of Women Voters or programs of local public libraries).

d. Instructional use--in high schools and colleges. Decisions about film production should be based upon the objectives and intended audience for the film. Once the decision is made about the audience the Senate wishes to reach with film, it would be in a position to consider alternative presentations which would fulfill its objectives.

If the planning committee has an educational objective in mind--either for the schools or for the Senate itself--we would like to suggest an approach to the creation of a film or video cassette program. WETA/26 and the APSA are preparing a telecourse entitled, "Congress: We the People." Funding for the telecourse is provided by a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting/Annenberg School of Communication.

The telecourse will draw upon the considerable library of footage gathered by WETA for its public affairs program, The Lawmakers, and from its continual coverage of Congress over the last decade. One theme of the telecourse will be to distinguish between the Senate and the House. The telecourse is being developed by the public affairs production staff of WETA in close cooperation with a group of congressional scholars including: Herbert B. Asher, Charles S. Bullock,

Roger Davidson, I. M. Destler, Richard F. Fenno, Charles O. Jones, David R. Mayhew, Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Robert L. Peabody, Nelson Polsby, Randall S. Ripley, Barbara Sinclair, and James L. Sundquist.

It should be possible to draw upon the same production staff and a special group of scholars to develop a program about the Senate. Such a program could draw upon WETA's extensive archives and the scholarly research of the telecourse for current coverage of the Senate and then add footage and material on the history and evolution of the Senate, possibly using the speeches of Robert Byrd on the history of the Senate. Additional footage should cover the Senate both as a national institution and as an institution representing the states, and should picture the Senate as both an integrated organization and a collection of its individual members.

B) A Bicentennial Chronicle

As a major part of its public program, Project '87 plans to publish a quarterly magazine designed to serve as a chronicle of the American constitutional bicentennial. Supported by a planning grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the first issue of the magazine will represent a prototype for a quarterly journal which will contain three basic sections: substantive articles on constitutional issues, a center section of documents relating to the Constitution, and a resource section containing information for scholars and agencies planning bicentennial celebrations. This section will include information on available grants, news about grant recipients and the projects they plan, lists of scholars able to act as consultants on bicentennial projects, bibliographies, descriptions of documents and manuscript collections, a calendar of bicentennial events, a chronology of historic dates relating to the bicentennial, successful bicentennial events from 1976 and, as the bicentennial era progresses, model programs about the Constitution.

Project '87 hopes to include extensive coverage in the magazine on the Senate's bicentennial activities ranging from listings to feature articles on Senate programs, and pieces on substantive issues of governance growing out of the Senate's scholarly activities.

Project '87 applauds the Senate bicentennial study group's plans for commemorating the forthcoming anniversaries by its proposals for substantive and enduring projects. Observed in this manner, the bicentennial of the founding of our government can indeed evoke a renewed sense of commitment to democratic and republican principles, and help to make the public aware of the meaning and vitality of the nation's history.

APPENDIX C: Digest of Comments received From Current and Former Members and Officers of the Senate

General Suggestions

- Special illustrated publication on art and artists in the Capitol. Possible update of Charles E. Fairman, Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927) Senate Document 95, 69th Congress, 1st session.

- Develop commemorative programs with other parliamentary bodies to emphasize Senate's deeper roots.

- Include all living former senators in at least one of the commemorative events to give a heightened public perception of the Senate's institutional continuity.

Specific Comments

EXHIBITIONS AND CEREMONIAL EVENTS

I would definitely agree that the first act should be for the two houses to meet and join together in a joint session on March 4, 1989. However, instead of using the chamber of the House of Representatives, I would recommend that they assemble on the West Front of the Capitol in a celebration patterned after the 1981 inauguration. The House of Representatives cannot accommodate many guests whereas the West Front can. With the Marine Band and several vocalists the occasion would be more festive. I would suggest short speeches by the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate. Television recommended.

On April 6th the Senate could then meet in its chamber with remarks first by the Vice President of the United States and then by the Majority and Minority Leaders. They in turn would be followed by the two former senators who had the most

seniority and who had served elective terms of at least six years; one a woman and the other a man. As of today one would be Margaret Chase Smith of Maine and the other Lister Hill of Alabama. Television recommended.

My last suggestion would be that all of the historical material referred to be put on exhibition for the full year of 1989 at the Smithsonian Institution. From what I have observed over the years that location seems to be logical from visitor attendance, knowledge of presentation, security, and exhibition space.

MINUTES OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTY CAUCUSES

It would seem reasonable to permit those minutes predating the Senate service of the oldest living senator, or ex-senator to be studied by recognized scholars and historians under specific conditions. Each request could be evaluated on its merits and careful criteria established to prevent access by the curious, non-serious students, or the media. The Historian of the Senate may be tasked with screening requests and making appropriate recommendations. It is almost certain that party minutes will be made available to historians at some point and the Bicentenary could well provide an appropriate and meaningful vehicle.

I believe the number of years in which they should be kept confidential should be minimized. I would not give an estimate of the number of years but believe the principle of minimization to be important. We believe in the Senate of letting the people know as much as humanly possible and realistically practical about our work.

GUIDE TO RESEARCH COLLECTIONS OF FORMER

UNITED STATES SENATORS, 1789-1982

I believe this is very long overdue and very desirable. These collections are critically important to scholars and students and for the history of our country. I believe they should be encouraged in every way by having them known about generally which this Guide will accomplish. I also believe the inclusion in the Guide of books written by members about their own careers and written about members is an extremely important bibliography.

The following former members and officers of the Senate submitted comments:

Members

John Sherman Cooper

Jacob K. Javits

Warren G. Magnuson

Donald W. Stewart

Officers

J. Stanley Kimmitt

J. Mark Trice

Francis R. Valeo